5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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133 venting anything being landed dry. The Colombian Government
504 erected a guard-house at the entrance of this bay last year, but I am afraid it will have to be abandoned as untenable. Puerto Estrella makes a very bad port, the small trading schooners having to lie in under the breakers. This is the last recognised Colombian port, at least pending the arbitration question. The next good port is the Laguna de Tamana, in the Gulf of Maracaybo. This place is much frequented by Venezuelans, and a trade has sprung up that if not checked will ruin the already drooping commerce of Rio Hacha. The best port on the coast is that of Cojoro, and spoken of as the future port of Maracaybo, with which it would have to be connected by rail, an engineering feat of not much difficulty. The ensenada or bay of Calaboso has an inaccessible, heavy, surf-beaten coast.

614 The peninsula is inhabited by only one tribe of Indians. These are subdivided into many families or castes, bearing much analogy to the ancient "clans" of Scotland. Each caste or rather family circle is united against all comers, taking up the quarrel of any one of its members to make it general. The Goajiros are strictly conservative and aristocratic
556 in their ideas, wealth and interest are omnipotent. A poor man may be
[578] insulted with impunity, when the same to a rich man would cause certain bloodshed. They have no veritable rulers, but each community
[622] recognises the wealthiest of its members as the chief or corporal, as he has been dubbed by the Spaniards, and look to him for protection. An Indian born poor, cannot become wealthy and great. Whatever heeds he may accumulate, his humble origin would never be forgotten; he
● [557] could, however, marry into a high caste family, having the means, and his children could become, through their mother's relations, great chiefs.
614 Besides the name, each caste or family represents some animal, and many of the minor castes, over and above their own symbol, adopt another of some more powerful denomination, to enjoy the privilege of a good protector. There are at present, altogether, some thirty odd castes among the Goajiros. Of these I was able to discover the names of twenty-two. The remainder are insignificant, little known castes, chiefly inhabiting the hills. There are about ten of importance, chief among these the "Urianas." This, the largest caste in the Goajiro, has subdivided or split up into many ramifications, such as Uriana tiger, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paularato (a song bird), Uriana gecko (lizard). This family is at present not only by far the most numerous, but also the richest; due to its connections by marriage with the Pushainas, formerly the wealthiest of the land. The Pushainas are to-day still
[558] great holders of tumas and ornaments, but with the Indian, only cattle, mules, and horses are real estate. The Urianas on receiving the tumas, sold out for cattle. The second in numbers are the Epiayous, as a rule they are poor. Under their protection are the Souanas, again under these the small caste of the Guorguoriynes. A full list will be given

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Venezuelan Guajiro. As his wealth grew so did his prestige. About twenty years ago the then leader of the Uriana clan died leaving no heirs, as he had no brothers and no direct nephews. Guajiro tradition establishes that, if upon the death of a clan leader and wealthy man there are no close heirs, even though there be distant ones, a council of elders (informally chosen among the oldest and more respected men of the clan) will meet and select the individual who shall take over not only the leadership of the clan but the wealth of the deceased as well. These cases are very infrequent (actually the writer could only find, in the memory of the oldest men, two instances of a council of elders meeting to select a leader; one is the case mentioned in this article, and the other occurred among the Epieyú clan, in Colombia, about fifty or sixty years ago). Fernandez now confesses, quite candidly, that at the time of the meeting of the council of elders, he distributed a number of gifts among them, thus succeeding in having them select him as clan leader and heir to the wealth of the dead chief.

It is interesting to note—and it shows how much acculturation Guajiro culture has undergone with the assimilation of the cattle complex—that the true Guajiro term for leader or chief (which also means "old man") *alat'laa* is almost all but forgotten and practically never used, having been substituted by the word *to'olo* a corruption of the Spanish word *toro* meaning BULL. (Stops are not glottal, but simple stoppage of the sound to be renewed with the coming vowel. Phonetic transcription have followed those given by Dr. Martha Hilderbrand's work on the Guajiro language published by the Comisión Indigenista, Venezuela, in 1958).

The role of Fernandez as leader of the Uriana clan is an exact replica of Silva's. He acts as advisor, settles disputes, makes arrangements for the payments of torts, bride-prices, etc. His day is fully as busy as that of Silva and he attends to all these matters besides his personal affairs.

Here we have, then, the two traditional ways of acquiring status in Guajiro society that the present writer has been able to investigate; one through inheritance, as in the case of Panchito Silva; and the other, through selection by a council of elders, as in the case of José de la Rosa Fernandez. It is doubtful that

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two days' visit at the home of Panchito Silva and while returning to Paraguaipoa, asked Perez how many wives he had had. Perez was obviously quite upset by the question, but did not hesitate in answering: "Oh, no, Mr. Santa Cruz! I have and only have had one wife, Anita!" (Anita is his Indian wife). Whether the motives for the denial are of a personal nature or involve some cultural complex is unknown to the writer.

Nevertheless Perez leads a perfectly discernable dual life. He has two homes, as described, dividing his time between them, devoting about 40% of the time (when he is not working) to his Maracaibo home, and about 60% to his Guajira home. He has two sets of friends which he is very careful not to mix. His plans for the future of his son are entirely along white cultural lines. At this point we find contradictory thoughts in Perez's mind. The present writer has heard him repeatedly criticize the attitude of certain Guajiros, both full-blooded and half-breeds, who, having gone to Maracaibo for formal education (especially to Teachers' College) have then sought, and in many cases obtained, positions in Maracaibo instead of returning to the Guajira to practice their professions. Yet when it comes to his own son, Perez's plans are for a permanent residence in Maracaibo or, if possible, Caracas, where he could go into practice in an entirely white cultural background.

The problem now is to define Perez's status in the Guajira. Undoubtedly his personality has some importance in Guajiro social stratification, especially among his own generation. This importance he has attained by granting favors, which his semi-official government positions enables him to do, to those whom he thinks will, in the future, be of help to him. Perhaps this is best illustrated by an example. The Ministry of Justice, through the Comisión Indigenista, grants ten scholarships annually to Guajiros who meet certain educational requirements. These scholarships are for the State of Zulia Teachers' College in Maracaibo. Perez has been given, more or less, a free hand in the selection of the candidates for these scholarships. About 65% of the candidates chosen by Perez, in the four years that the plan has been in operation, have been admitted to the College. The writer was able to look briefly into the family back-

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ground of the candidates selected by Perez so far, and he has found that only one among all the boys and girls recommended by him actually came from a Guajiro family that could not afford to pay for higher education. All the rest came from families, both pure Indian and with white mixture, belonging to the upper economic and social strata of the Guajiro society, who could easily pay for the education of their children.

These and other favors that Perez has granted to the upper social class have, undoubtedly, given him a unique status in the social structure. Perez is not respected in the same sense as Fernandez and Silva are respected, but his advice is sought and no favor he asks is ever denied. The older men, especially those enjoying certain leadership, look upon Perez with certain scorn as an upstart. For instance, on several occasions, when the present writer with Perez visited his father-in-law, Fernandez, the old leader, in a half-humorous and half-serious way, would repeatedly say: "This is To'lito; I am the To'olo," meaning that Perez was just a "little bull," while he was the big, the important "bull." Nevertheless, regardless of this general attitude of the older men, even they come to him whenever they want some favor from the Government. The writer has never heard Perez deny such requests to individuals of the upper stratum, while on several occasions it was noted that he refused to do anything on behalf of those who are economically and socially below him.

As far as the younger generation is concerned, Perez unquestionably has many friends and individuals who look upon him as the possible means of bettering their position. His bitter enemies are also to be found among the younger generation. These will stop at nothing in the hope of having him completely discredited in general and in particular they aim to have him lose his semi-official position. Just recently, this group went so far as to accuse him of having been a collaborator of the deposed dictatorial regime of Perez Jimenez and an enemy of the democratic government now in power in Venezuela. This landed Perez in jail but, as these accusations could not be substantiated, he was released in 24 hours. This incident is referred to here for the sole purpose of illustrating to what measures his enemies

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will go to have him fall in disgrace. Whether these accusations are true or false is not our concern in this article.

Summing up Perez's position in Guajiro society we find the following facts: Among the older and more influential men, Perez is not considered as one of them and their attitude towards him is not a respectful one. He on the contrary is quite respectful towards them. No one, however, among this group can be classified as his enemy, and they do seek him out for advice in their dealings with Government officials. Among his contemporaries he enjoys a very influential position and practically everyone seeks his friendship. His true friends are to be found, without question, among this group, and, as far as it could be investigated, he has no real enemies among them, although there may be a few who envy his position. The younger generations are clearly divided into two groups—one group which truly respects and looks up to him, and another which is composed of his bitter enemies.

From the many formal and informal conversations the present writer has had with Perez—at his home, while traveling, when visiting some one else, etc.—the following analysis may be made of his behavior and position. While in Maracaibo, Perez soon became aware that he could attain no high status within a white culture where competition is always very keen. As Prefect of Sinamaica he clearly saw the possibilities of climbing up the ladder in Guajiro society and the first step he took towards that goal was to marry a full-blooded Indian girl from an important family, and to marry her in accordance with the traditional Guajiro law. There was very little chance for him to obtain the necessary wealth and to attain leadership status through property, but he saw the opportunity his semi-official position gave him to become the point of contact between the Guajiro and while cultures, cultivating both and becoming an almost indispensable person in the dealings the true natives had with the authorities. Whether his marriage to the Guajiro girl was purely for interest or whether there was any love involved is, of course, very difficult to say. As the writer made his headquarters in Perez's household at the Laguna del Pajaro, during his stay in the Guajira, he was able to observe, at first hand, the relationship between Perez and his native wife. These were always

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cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to indivduals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The